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THE CONFEDERATION STORY

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SIMPSON'S CONFEDERATION JUBILEE SERIES

1867  1927

Written especially for The Robert Simpson Company, Limited, by M. O. Hammond, author of "Confederation and Its Leaders" and "Canadian Footprints."

The drawings have been specially prepared for this series by A. Wynne-Clark, C.S.G.A., with supervision of historical data by C. W. Jefferys, R.C.A.

The Confederation Story is reprinted from a series of articles published by The Robert Simpson Company, Limited, during the month preceding the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.



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INTRODUCTION

THE story of Canada from the Confederation era to the present is sketched in the following pages. It is a story of vision by leaders, of initiative and energy by men and women, and of a nation just emerged from pioneering to a place of recognition in the world. All this has taken place within the span of a man's lifetime. It is a record of material progress through development of resources, of spiritual advancement through devotion and sacrifice.

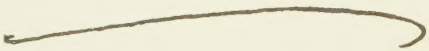
The past of Canada is inspiring, its present is joyous and hopeful. What of its years to come? It used to be said that such diverse and scattered Provinces would ever lack unity and common purpose. Distance and natural obstacles would preclude a national spirit. The answer is seen in the unity revealed in the Great War emergency, in the steady expansion of industry and trade, the ambition for greater triumphs, and the progress of creative arts such as literature, painting and architecture.

The Dominion of Canada was founded as a member of the British Empire. It has multiplied its wealth and strength, has increased its powers of self-government, but it remains loyal and happy in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Its resources are capable of indefinite expansion in production and capital. Science and transportation are rolling back the map of its productive area. Its governments generally are progressive, education is spreading, wealth is well distributed and justice fairly administered.

The framework is laid for a great national structure, the foresight of the Fathers of Confederation is vindicated, and in coming decades progress will go on, confidence increase, and a hardy Northern people will be proud of their heritage from the pioneers who broke the soil and the founders who created the Dominion from the unrelated Provinces floundering in political chaos and economic uncertainty.

M. O. Hammond



No. 1. The "Real Father."



LORD DURHAM

*Background—Dispersion of Insurgents at
St. Eustache, 1837*

ON a July afternoon in 1838 a steamer bearing a great personage to Toronto was halted for half an hour outside the Harbor while the great personage bathed his feet in hot water. Thus does history wait on human frailty, for the steamer brought Lord Durham, who recommended responsible government, which led naturally to Confederation.

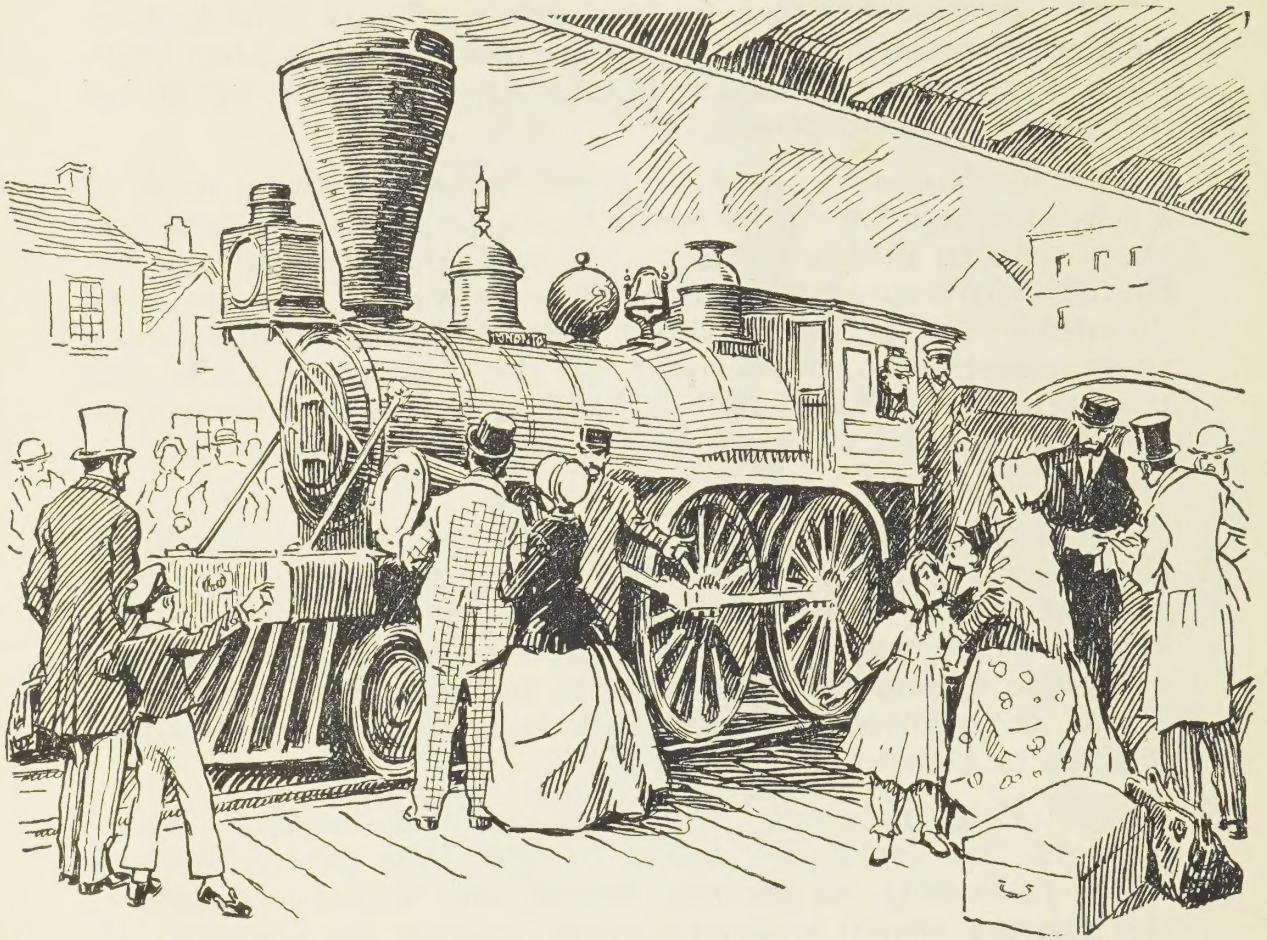
The Canadas had just emerged from the bitter strife of a rebellion against the Family Compact, and Durham had been sent to find a remedy. A new spirit had seized the British Government in colonial relations. The days of "leading strings" were about over. Durham had speeded their passing as a member of the Cabinet which put through the Reform Bill of 1832, a re-made constitution which extended political power to half the great middle class of Britain.

Durham came clothed with the powers of a despot. He entered Quebec on a white charger and followed by a retinue worthy of an eastern satrap. He went through the Provinces in regal splendor, talked with leaders of thought everywhere, and then returned in humiliation because the Home government resented his banishment of rebellion leaders to Bermuda.

Suffering intensely from chronic ill-health, which brought an untimely death in 1840, the proud Durham wrote feverishly all the way home, and shortly completed the Report which became a great charter for Canada. He had come openly favoring a federal union. He found "two nations warring within the bosom of a single state," he recommended a union of Upper and Lower Canada with one Parliament, so that the English would be in control. Responsible government was to accompany the new order.

The way was paved for a larger union, and for that achievement Lord Durham has been called "the real Father of Confederation."

No. 2. Coming of the Railway



"THE TORONTO"

Engine of The First Train leaving the station of
the Northern Railway, Toronto, 1853

THE blast of a locomotive whistle on the morning of May 16, 1853, drew the inhabitants of Toronto to the waterfront and awakened echoes in the forest, as yet but little driven back from the Harbor. It did much more. It heralded the new era of railway connection, for the Northern Railway was that day opened to Aurora, later to be continued to Collingwood.

All the early railways in Canada were portage roads, built to overcome rapids or waterfalls on rivers, and the Northern was a portage between Lake Ontario and Georgian Bay. Absurd as it now seems, the Grand Trunk had not yet reached Toronto from Montreal, and there was no railway to Hamilton until 1856.

The birch canoe was man's first carrier in the New World, and it threaded the lakes and rivers for two centuries in the feeble intercourse of early days. At length, when the railway was introduced in England in 1825, it quickly spread to this continent. By 1850 there were only 66 miles of railway in British America, but already the air was filled with railway promotion talk. A tremendous boom occurred, bringing the Grand Trunk into existence from Portland to Sarnia by 1860, and the Great Western from Niagara Falls to Windsor. The days of back-breaking journeys of the pioneers to the flour mill for the grinding of their wheat were soon to be ended.

Down on the Esplanade the citizens of Toronto assembled to witness the departure of their first train from a shed on the site of the present new union station. Two years earlier the first spadeful of earth had been turned for the railway by Lady Elgin, wife of the Governor-General, while Mayor Bowes, resplendent in cocked hat and knee breeches, trundled the wheel-barrow with her Ladyship's spadeful of earth to the edge of the bank and dumped it.

Thus began the age of steam transportation for Toronto breaking the silence of the backwoods, carrying merchandise to the farmers and bringing lumber and grain in return.

No. 3. Confederation Enters Politics



ALEXANDER T. GALT

Background—Old Parliament Buildings, Toronto

OLDER residents of Toronto remember the Parliament Buildings on the north side of Front Street, where a railway freight shed now stands. In this classic, but rambling pile, the giants of the days before Confederation met and solved their problems.

Here on a summer night in 1858, Alexander T. Galt raised the banner of Confederation, and though little notice was taken of his action at the time, it forced the idea into practical politics before the year ended.

Galt was the son of the Scottish novelist, John Galt, and both had been in the land business in the days of expansion in central Canada. Alexander had a large share of the brains of his father, together with an allowance of Scottish pride and independence. A more tractable man would have bowed the knee to leaders, and with Galt's ability would have attained higher office.

Alexander Galt was tired of the petty issues of the day. Upper Canada was filling rapidly with new settlers, railways were booming on all sides, yet the leaders were absorbed in political squabbles on unworthy questions.

Out of the welter of a debate on representation by population, Galt rose and boldly proposed Confederation of all the Provinces. He advocated federation of Upper and Lower Canada, leaving local matters to local Parliaments, with inclusion also of the Maritime Provinces and the Western territory, then in possession of the Hudson's Bay Company.

A greater orator would have fired the enthusiasm of Canada with such a theme, but we cannot remain cold as we read his appeal to Parliament to "occupy that great empire, that region ten times as large as the settled heart of Canada." Then he cried in words that should endure: "Half a continent is ours if we do not keep on quarrelling about petty matters and lose sight of what interests us most."

In a few days the Ministry fell on the issue of the choice of Ottawa by Queen Victoria as capital, although the matter had been left to Her Majesty to settle. George E. Cartier formed a new Cabinet and took Galt into it, along with his federation policy, a fact of great importance in later union battles in Lower Canada.

No. 4. Union in the Maritimes



DR. CHARLES TUPPER

Background—The Market Slip, St. John,
New Brunswick

SIR Charles Tupper was a go-getter in politics. Courage and audacity brimmed through his stout, wiry frame, and during his 94 years of life he was never long separated from a fight. His colleagues knew his measure, and many a thankless, disagreeable task was tossed to him because he could see it through.

Confederation had been discussed in Nova Scotia at intervals since 1839. Premier Johnstone favored it, and Joseph Howe urged it until Tupper took the policy and made it his own.

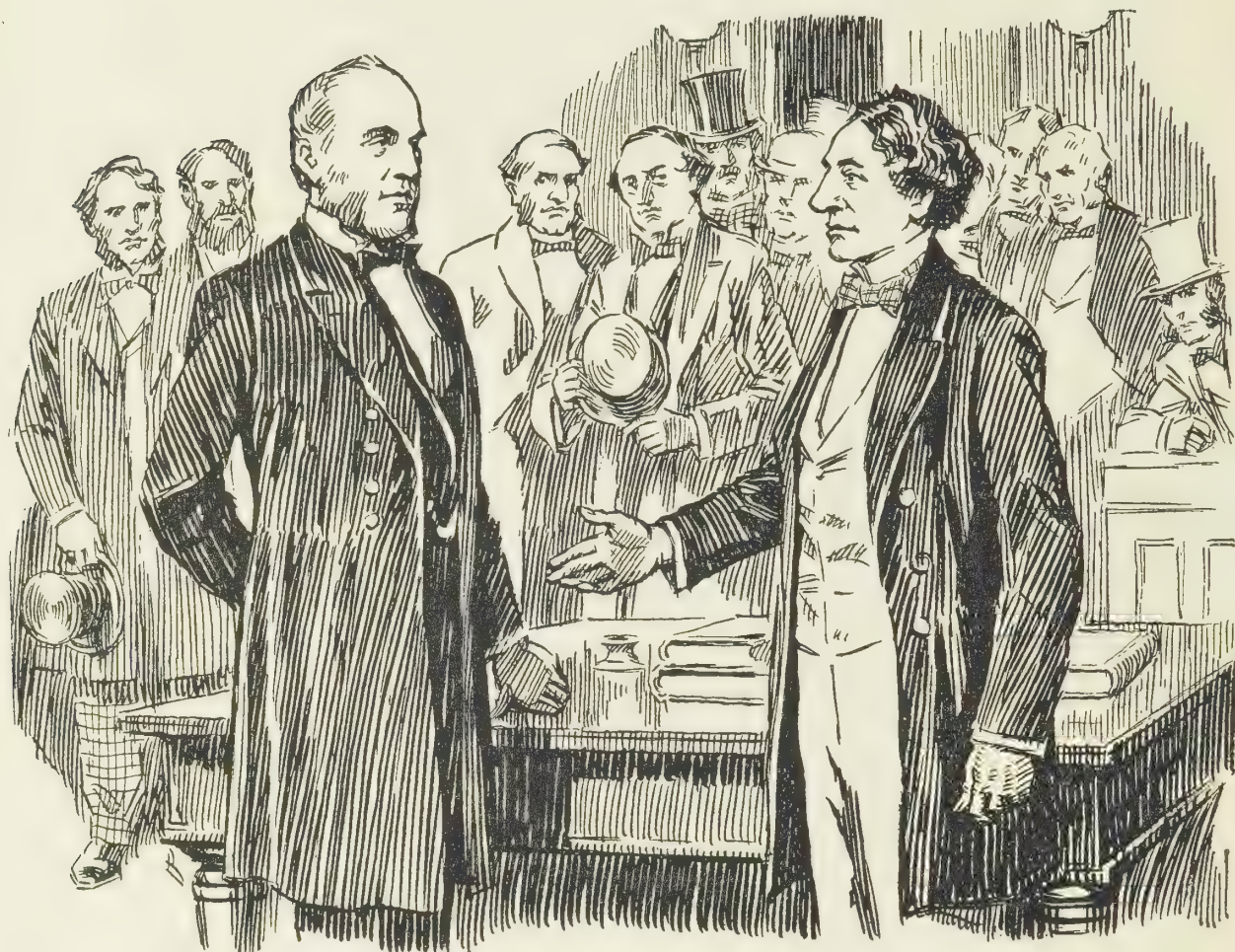
Charles Tupper, country doctor, had naturally drifted into politics in his native Amherst. Up to the day he was first nominated in 1855, his wife had objected, but as she sat at a distant window and overheard his nomination speech, she withdrew her veto.

Tupper had vision as well as audacity. In the autumn of 1860 he crossed to St. John and in a lecture boldly urged a union of the Provinces. His picture of the poor colonials was disconcerting, but he forecast a British America from coast to coast, soon to be a powerful organization, "with British institutions, British sympathies and British feelings, bound indissolubly to the throne of England."

The lecture was repeated at Halifax and elsewhere, and aided in forcing the subject to the front. London had answered Canadian approaches for union with sympathy, but awaited other requests. Tupper became Premier of Nova Scotia in 1864, and in a few weeks he had the wheels in motion for the opening conference.

A half century of public life gave scope to his tireless energy, and bore fruit in defeating the Confederation repeal movement in Nova Scotia in promoting the National Policy in his own party, and in fostering the fortunes of the Canadian Pacific Railway through its darkest days.

No. 5. Two Rivals Come Together



MACDONALD and BROWN
JOIN HANDS

Dramatic Scene in Parliament, June, 1864

JOHN A. Macdonald and George Brown were like flint and steel. Whenever they met the sparks flew. They were not only political but personal enemies. Each roused the partisanship of his own followers by denouncing the other. For years they were not on speaking terms. Personally as well as politically, a great gulf lay between them. Macdonald was genial, amiable and a reconciler of men. Brown was a stern crusader, a "steam engine in trousers," a zealot for the causes he espoused.

But both were men of vision and statesmen. Each had his country's good at heart, but sought it by different routes.

For twenty years they warred in the politics of United Canada, each so successful that at length a deadlock ensued. Government came to a standstill. Four Cabinets resigned in three years, and after two general elections there was still chaos. At last it dawned on both that extreme measures were needed to find a remedy.

One day in June, 1864, the members of Parliament in session at Quebec sat up in astonishment at a spectacle before them. There, in the centre of the Chamber, Macdonald and Brown stood in amiable and earnest converse. Was the hatchet at last buried? Had the political milennium arrived?

During a chance meeting on the train to Quebec with John Carling, George Brown said that "John A" had the chance of his life to solve the country's troubles if he would come out for Confederation.

"Would you support such a movement," Carling asked.

"Most certainly I would," Brown replied.

The news was carried to Macdonald, negotiations were opened, friends brought the leaders together. Three Reformers entered a new coalition Cabinet, and the way was at last opened to the Confederation conferences.

No. 6. The Cradle of Confederation



THE ORIGINAL CONFERENCE
Delegates at Charlottetown September, 1864

SURELY no nation ever had more peaceful birth than the Dominion of Canada. In the serene atmosphere of Charlottetown, the pastoral capital of Prince Edward Island, twenty-three men of diverse views and parties sat round a table and at the end of a week decided that Confederation of the Provinces of British North America would be a good thing.

Union of the Maritime Provinces alone was the original motive of the gathering, but the Canadian leaders, hearing of the Conference, sought an invitation, and eight Ministers set out on the Government steamer Queen Victoria from Quebec to Charlottetown.

Modern cynics might have called it a "joy ride," so doubtful was the prospective result. In reality the delegates travelled on a Ship of Destiny. The Eastern statesmen opened their doors to unofficial proposals, and the Canadians—Macdonald, Brown, Galt, Cartier, McGee, Campbell, McDougall and Langevin—plied their arguments so effectively that the horizon quickly widened, until in fancy all saw a country that reached from Halifax to the Rocky Mountains. Macdonald pictured future expansion until the uniting Provinces would be "at least the fourth nation on the face of the globe."

The Islanders may have had secret misgivings, for they were the first to withdraw their support, some months later, and to delay their entrance to union, but in September, 1864, goodwill and hope were supreme. "The delegates enjoyed the hospitalities of the town," wrote a current chronicler, and the Canadians in turn entertained freely on their steamer.

Unofficially, the idea was launched completely. "The wheel is now revolving, and we are the only fly on the wheel; we cannot delay it," said John A. Macdonald. More reverently the tablet at Charlottetown records it:

"Providence being their guide,
They builded better than they knew."

No. 7. The Fathers in Conference



After the celebrated painting by Robert Harris, R.C.A.

THE FATHERS IN CONFERENCE

Quebec Conference in Session, 1864.

AROUND the Quebec Conference of October, 1864, a spirit of reverence hovers. It was the central event of the Union Movement. There the Fathers of Confederation, the elder statesmen, the ablest and wisest men of the Provinces, evolved a new form of government. It was the culmination of years of agitation and unsettlement, the starting point of a new era in British America. Thirty-three men, in three weeks, formed and adopted 72 resolutions, and on these the British North America Act was later based.

They met on historic ground. On the site of the Parliament Buildings had stood the Bishop's Palace, home of Bishop Laval, in which, in 1792, the first Parliament of Canada met. Down the hill, by the waterfront, Champlain had landed in 1608 and founded New France. Nearby, Louis Hebert made the first farm in Canada.

The Fathers were the first flowering of responsible government, fitted by experience for their great task and responsibility. Sir E. P. Tache, Premier of Canada, was Chairman, but the guiding hands were younger men: John A. Macdonald, rising to the zenith of his power; George Brown, constructive and aggressive; Alexander T. Galt, a wizard in finance, a field with few trained men; Oliver Mowat, shrewd in politics and skillful in legal forms; Tupper and Tilley, controlling Maritime opinion; D'Arcy McGee, soon to be the tribune of Union.

Arguments heard at Charlottetown were enlarged and reinforced, and soon the main resolution, that a union be formed, was presented by Macdonald and Tilley and adopted. If the opportunity were now let slip, the scheme might be abandoned in despair Macdonald said.

The Canadian Ministers brought a scheme mapped in detail. This had been promised at Charlottetown, and few changes were made. On finance and on the method of constituting the Senate, whether by appointment or election, the Conference was almost wrecked, but patience and conciliation brought solutions.

All agreed on the principle of a strong central government, for at that very moment it was apparent civil war had come to the United States from too great exercise of "State rights."

The Fathers labored in secret, they left few records, but their names are written large in the history of the Empire.

No. 8. Macdonald the Leader



JOHN A. MACDONALD

*Background—His boyhood home, 102 Rideau
St., Kingston, Ont.*

WHEN John A. Macdonald was a young lawyer in Kingston, the argument in court became so hot one day that he got into a fight with an opposing counsel. The Judge was properly horrified, and the court constable did his duty by shouting, 'Order in the Court !' but under his breath he urged, 'Hit him, John ! Hit him, John !'

The incident illustrates the uncanny spell which this most human, most magnetic of Canadian leaders exercised over men. All his followers and many of his opponents surrendered to his magic influence. Others may have had more initiative, even more eloquence, Macdonald was the supreme reconciler and leader. Alone, he could not have achieved Confederation; without him, the conflicting views and personalities could not have been reconciled and brought to work in unison. He harnessed the earnestness of Brown, the nervous force of Cartier, the blunt audacity of Tupper, the public spirit of Tilley, the eloquence of McGee, the financial skill of Galt, and drove all these forces in harmony to the great end of union.

Macdonald was a poor Scotch boy, born in Glasgow in 1815. He lived in childhood and youth in Kingston, in a small house at 102 Rideau Street, which still stands. He graduated in law in 1836, and by 1844 was in Parliament. He was soon in the Cabinet, and his genius for leadership gave him unusual power almost from the start.

Others preceded him in advocating Confederation, but by 1861 he declared that in "a union of all the British North American Provinces would be found the remedy for the evils of which Mr. Brown and his friends from Upper Canada complained." He entered the lists, and when the critical hour came, he was the man chosen by Destiny to control the great forces of union. Through nearly three years of hesitation and struggle he perfected his strategy, guided his lieutenants, and finally confounded his opponents and achieved victory.

No. 9. Mowat the Interpreter



OLIVER MOWAT

*Dictating resolutions at the Quebec
Conference.*

THERE is a pretty story that during the Quebec Conference, Oliver Mowat used to take long walks about the old city, during which he would compose resolutions for the approval of the Fathers of Confederation, and on his return would dictate them to his secretary.

Whatever the physical details, it is a fact that Mowat framed many of the resolutions, and especially was responsible for the provisions defining the rights of Provincial Parliaments. This is of great importance, for years later he was engaged in a long struggle with the Dominion Government for the protection of Provincial rights during 24 years as Premier of Ontario.

Kingston, then the principal town in Upper Canada, was the birthplace of Oliver Mowat. One day the round-faced boy with hesitating speech and short sight, walked into the office of John A. Macdonald, his former school chum, and was enrolled as a law student. Alexander Campbell arrived a little later. Thus from one country lawyer's office went forth three men who became Fathers of Confederation.

Mowat entered Parliament for South Ontario in 1857, and on election declared his desire to perform his duty "in the spirit and with the views which become a Christian politician." This high seriousness ever marked his public demeanor. He was not a popular orator, but he prepared with care, revised with endless zeal for the exact word, and when his speeches were printed they were clear and forceful arguments.

Though taunted by wily opponents, his strategy usually triumphed, and the majority of the people respected his earnestness and trusted his judgment. He ruled Ontario during a great constructive era, he adjusted the new constitution to Provincial conditions by many legal battles with Sir John A. Macdonald, and he died in 1903 acclaimed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier as "The most correct interpreter of our constitution that Canada has yet produced."

No. 10. The Fathers on Tour



FATHERS REACH TORONTO

*Speaking from balcony of Queen's Hotel,
Nov., 1864.*

WHEN the Fathers came to Toronto from the Quebec Conference they were treading on air. They had been joyously greeted by vast crowds at Montreal and Ottawa, and the world was theirs. They had emerged from their cloisters to the sunlight of popularity, and they liked the sensation.

Eight thousand people awaited their arrival at the old Union Station of that day, and Toronto sent its Mayor and Council, all of its police, and hundreds of soldiers to give welcome. A roar of cheers greeted the train and its delegates, whose fame had preceded them, and whose plans were the new charter of a nation upon which the greatest hope was based. The long agitation for better representation was to succeed, and with it would come wider boundaries, larger trade, and a new national spirit.

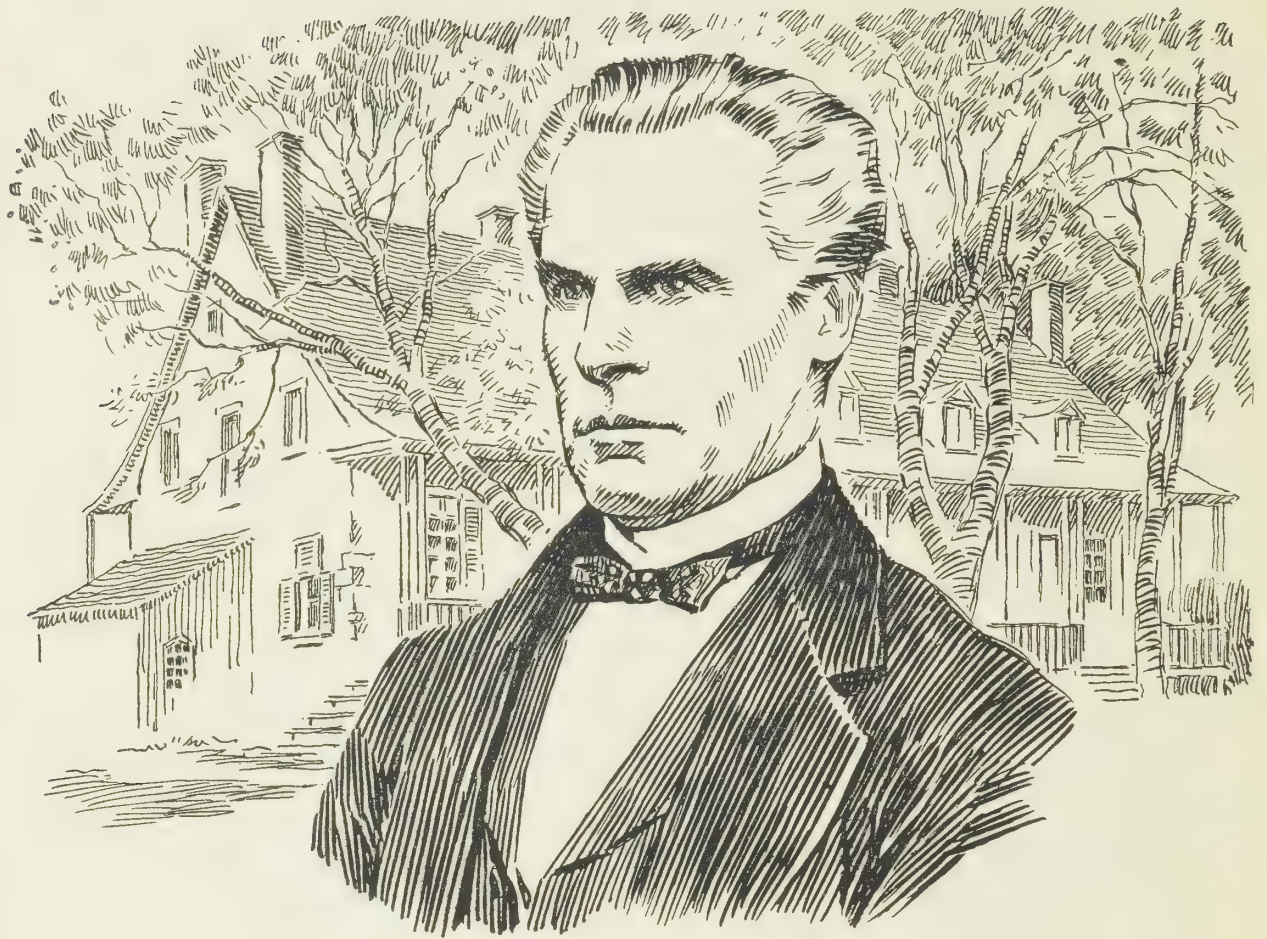
Torches flared and bands played as the Fathers were escorted through the gas-lit streets to the Queen's Hotel, a venerable building now soon to make way for a mammoth new structure. Rockets pierced the dark sky in expression of the general spirit of joy and hope.

Presently from the balcony emerged the figures of Brown, Tupper and Tilley, and speeches at last satisfied the thousands who hungered for first-hand news. Internal resources would be advanced, unity and stability would be known as never before, Tupper told the cheering audience.

The tumult and the shouting died, and the delegates slept before the long day of speech-making and entertainment which followed. Under the stimulus of events, the Maritime delegates met and postponed their original plan for a Maritime union.

One man, the far-seeing Macdonald, was not lulled to over-confidence. Ten days later he wrote Tupper: "Canada on the whole seems to take up the scheme warmly, but yet we shall meet with considerable opposition. Dorion, you see, has come out with a manifesto against it. Sandfield Macdonald will join him, and I hear they are beating up for recruits everywhere."

No. 11. Cartier and His People



GEORGE E. CARTIER

*Background—His birthplace, "The House of
Seven Chimneys," St. Antoine, Que.*

GEORGE E. CARTIER belonged to that noble order of men of whom it may be said, "He works while he works, and plays while he plays." In his office, he was a keen, highly-strung executive, ever originating and completing large undertakings. When leisure came, he entertained troops of friends, and hours passed in stories and folk-songs, the songs of the voyageurs of his adventuring ancestors in New France.

It was well for the new Dominion that Cartier was one of its promoters. He was the dominant political figure in Lower Canada, close friend of John A. Macdonald, and ever the sturdy defender of his own people. He was backed by the Roman Catholic Church, and together the two forces were invincible. The opposition to Union of Dorion, Holton and Dunkin was doubtless honest and disinterested, but it could not succeed.

Cartier was Canadian from many generations. From his home in "The House of Seven Chimneys" by the Richelieu, he joined Papineau at St. Denis in the rebellion of 1837, a course which might have long embarrassed a less confident politician. He entered Parliament in 1848 and became steadily more conservative. He led in the building of the Grand Trunk and the Intercolonial Railways, and had a close political connection with the first Canadian Pacific syndicate. He was the principal agent in the purchase of the West from the Hudson's Bay Company.

Alexander T. Galt converted Cartier to Confederation in 1858, and thereafter they worked together for Union. Cartier dominated Lower Canada as George Brown was supreme in the Upper Province, but they were bitter rivals until the call of patriotism united them for Confederation. Cartier forced the adoption of a federal rather than a legislative union, thus securing local parliaments for local affairs.

"There are no obstacles which human wisdom cannot overcome," he told a Halifax audience in 1864. "All that is needed to triumph is a strong will and a noble ambition."

Cartier had the will, he helped to create the ambition, and he aided his country over the rough places during perilous years.

No. 12. The Sacrifices of a Leader



GEORGE BROWN

*Addressing a rural meeting in Upper Canada
on Confederation.*

GEORGE BROWN sacrificed himself and imperilled his party for Confederation. He joined with John A. Macdonald in a coalition until Union was formulated, and then withdrew and tried to salvage his party before it was too late.

The party rallied in 1867, but Brown was defeated, and thereafter took little part in public life except through his newspaper. He had been warned by Reform colleagues against an alliance with Macdonald, but he rose above party because he cared not who received the credit for Union.

"The whole feeling in my mind now," he said early in 1865, "is one of joy and thankfulness that there were found men of position and influence in Canada who at a moment of crisis had nerve and patriotism enough to cast aside political partisanship, to banish personal considerations and unite for the accomplishment of a measure so fraught with advantage to their common country."

Brown quit the Cabinet late that year but loyally supported Confederation until it became effective. Union brought the representation by population he had sought for years. It promised unity and strength and the creation of a powerful nation, and it led to a Dominion from ocean to ocean, as he long had advocated.

There were more than six feet of sturdy manhood in this earnest Scot, and every inch was filled with energy. He came to Toronto in 1843 with his father, and they founded *The Banner*, a Presbyterian weekly.

The political battle quickly became so warm that George Brown founded *The Globe*, to promote responsible government, which was eventually won in 1848. Brown was in Parliament by 1851, and soon attained a commanding position. He went about Upper Canada constantly, met the people, addressed countless meetings at great length and with amazing vigor, and for almost forty years discussed leading issues and aided in finding solutions.

No. 13. *The Martyred Unionist*



D'ARCY MCGEE
ADDRESSING A
CONFEDERATION MEETING
IN UPPER CANADA

D'ARCY McGEE brought poetry and tragedy into the record of Confederation. He was in youth an Irish "rebel," born to hate the Empire he later served so signally, and for which service he met death from an assassin.

McGee was the supreme orator of the Union campaign, a man whose silver tongue captivated audiences from Lake Huron to Halifax, carrying the prophecy of a better day to come. He wrote poetry, but the inner fire of his Celtic soul poured poetry into every-day speeches and led his audiences, drab with devotion to pioneer toil, to ascend the mountain tops and glimpse the great Canada of the future.

At an early meeting in western Ontario an impressionable boy heard D'Arcy McGee, and many years later, when he had become Sir George W. Ross and had been Premier of Ontario, he wrote of the "flat and heavy" face of the speaker, qualities soon forgotten under the spell of the "mellow richness of McGee's voice, and the rhythm and cadence of the Queen's English as it flowed from his lips."

McGee paved the way to Maritime favor by his visit in August, 1864, a month before the Charlottetown Conference. At Halifax he delicately raised the question of union.

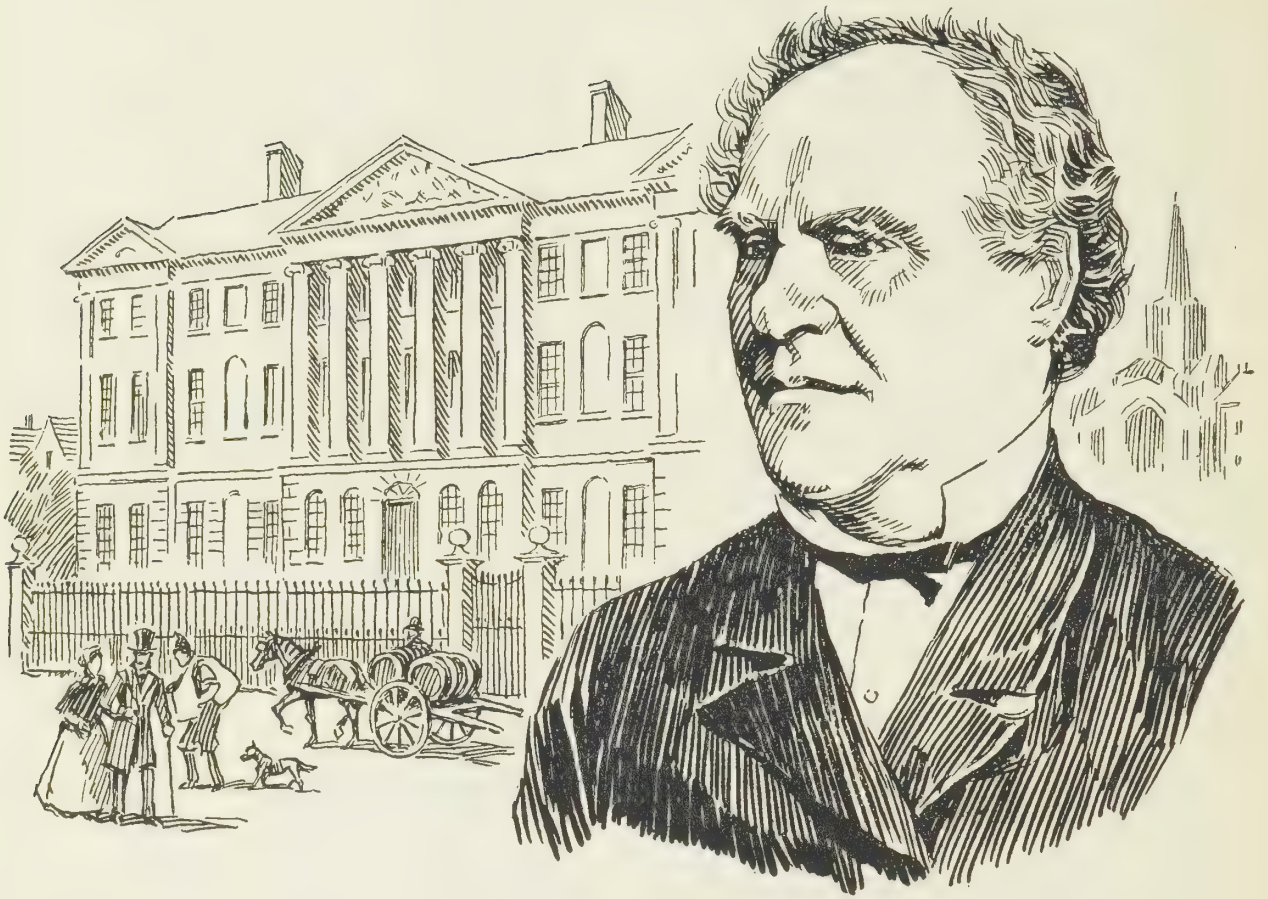
"Rest assured," he said, "if we remain longer as fragments we shall be lost; but let us be united and we shall be as a rock which, unmoved itself, flings back the waves that may be dashed against it by the storm."

Such confidence, such earnestness, such eloquence left their mark. Upper Canada was confirmed in its decision, Lower Canada was strengthened, the Maritime Provinces lost some of their hostility under such appeals. The day of the orator had not passed; personality and poetic fire were potent weapons for a cause.

But while McGee made friends for Confederation he made enemies for himself. An element which had been angered by his change of heart, plotted revenge. He was shot down at his door in Ottawa in 1868.

Confederation had its first martyr.

No. 14. "Joe" Howe fights Union



JOSEPH HOWE

Background—Province Building, Halifax

HOWE and Tupper lent spice and color to the politics of Nova Scotia. They were bitter rivals by the Atlantic as were Macdonald and Brown in the Lake region. Howe had long been the idol of his Province when the young country doctor from Amherst crossed his path.

"Let us hear the little doctor by all means," he said, when Tupper sought to address a Howe meeting in 1852. "I would not be any more affected by anything he might say than by the mewling of yonder kitten."

Howe had the priceless gifts of eloquence, creative statesmanship and a magnetic personality. With them he had smashed the Tory Magistrates and won responsible government, furthered an inter-provincial railway policy, and promoted the idea of union of all the Provinces. He knew every foot of Nova Scotia, on all sides the people entertained him and called him "Joe," and his fame and influence had reached the Motherland of which he was so fond.

Yet when Confederation was proposed in 1864, the old rivalry with Tupper flamed anew, and Howe soon became a relentless opponent. In 1851 Howe had dreamed railways and pictured a British commonwealth extending to the Pacific. "I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam-engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains," he declared in his ecstasy.

By the winter of 1865 he was pouring out pamphlets and letters and stumping his Province against Confederation. He would not play "second fiddle" to Tupper, he said. "All our revenues are to be taken by the general government, and we get back 80 cents per head, the price of a sheepskin," he said in his rhetorical way, alluding to the subsidy.

There was magic in the Howe influence, and it meant danger to the cause of Union. The idol, though weakened and aging compared with the virile Tupper, inflamed his Province until Tupper alone of the Unionists was elected in 1867. The next Spring Howe carried his protest to London and demanded repeal. Tupper followed him, and verbal sparks flew when the old rivals met.

But other problems pressed, and London was indifferent to Howe's appeal. Besides, it had already made its decision. The game was up, and Howe returned to accept the new law with a "better terms" revision. He yoked up at last with Sir Charles Tupper, and the two swept Nova Scotia for Union and reversed the decision of 1867.

No. 15. When the Fenians Came



THE BATTLE OF RIDGEWAY

Queen's Own Rifles in Engagement
with Fenians

JUST when Confederation hung in the balance, in the Spring of 1866, the Fenian menace turned the scale. Fear of an invasion from Maine influenced the New Brunswick election and brought a decision favorable to Union, while the actual invasion at Fort Erie and the battle at Ridgeway stiffened national sentiment generally.

Those were anxious days in May and June. Fenians had grown in numbers and ambitions during the American Civil War, and after its close a movement converged on Buffalo with the evident purpose of attacking Canada. The Canadian authorities delayed action, though newspapers gave plenty of warning. "A rowdy lot of rapsCALLIONS" were reported at Buffalo, and the nature of the arms they carried, "dirks, daggers and revolvers," did not increase Canadian respect.

On June 1 the "rapsCALLIONS" crossed into Canada, and the time for action had come. Several hundred troops were sent from Toronto, Hamilton and other points, and the whole country was aflame with excitement. Sam Johnson, a notorious character in the Fort Erie region, won fame by a dash through the countryside on horseback, crying, "The Fenians are coming!"

A locomotive whistle on the troop train at Ridgeway told "General" John O'Neil, the Fenian leader, the location of the soldiers, and soon the forces were approaching each other. The Fenians took cover behind a barricade of fence rails near the brick house of John Anger, which still bears the scars of bullets. After a skirmish, the invaders fell back, then attacked again. A false cry of "Cavalry" alarmed the Canadian troops, and there was a retreat with loss of nine killed.

The Fenians retired to the river and went home, leaving as their legacy a quickened national spirit and a certainty of national union.

No. 16. London Gives Consent



WESTMINSTER CONFERENCE
IN SESSION, LONDON, 1866-7

Alexander T. Galt speaking

AFTER all the agitation and debate, London possessed the last word on the Confederation project. The Mother of Parliaments had to ratify the merging of the daughter Provinces overseas.

There was irony in the fact that the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick delegates were first to arrive for the final Conference, and waited from July to December, 1866, for the coming of the Canadian Ministers, who had been delayed by Fenian troubles.

John A. Macdonald, A. T. Galt, Charles Tupper and Leonard Tilley were the leading spirits around the table in the Westminster Palace Hotel at the opening on December 4, and Macdonald as Chairman once more exhibited his genius for conciliation. Lord Monck, the Governor-General, and Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, maintained a watchful eye. There was an air of indifference among British leaders of which Macdonald complained, but the great Reform Bill of 1867 was pending, and political waters were seriously disturbed.

Macdonald wanted to call the new nation the Kingdom of Canada, but Lord Derby, the Premier, feared such a name would offend the United States, which had slammed the door on a Kingdom many years before. In an inspired moment, the name Dominion of Canada was chosen on suggestion of Mr. Tilley, who caught anew the vision of the Psalmist: "He shall have dominion from sea to sea and from the river unto the ends of the earth."

Before Christmas the resolutions from the Quebec Conference were revised and approved, and in January they were drafted into the British North America Act. John A. Macdonald was re-married on February 16, and the incidental festivities formed a diversion for the delegates.

There was almost no opposition to the bill in the British Parliament, but John Bright offered sympathy with the protesting delegation from Nova Scotia on the plea that the electors had not been consulted. A more prevalent view was expressed by Lord Carnarvon in his broad, statesmanlike speech in the Lords:

"We are laying the foundation of a great State—perhaps one which at a future day may even overshadow this country."

The bill was whisked through both Houses without change, royal assent given on March 29, and Macdonald was designated as first Prime Minister of the new nation he had done so much to shape.

No. 17. Confederation Day



CROWDS ON KING STREET,
AT YONGE, TORONTO,
JULY 1, 1867

FOUR bonfires lighted on the streets just after midnight ushered in Toronto's first Dominion Day. People could not wait till dawn, and the hundreds lured from bed by these early attractions spent a long, exhausting but happy day.

The city of 50,000 was simple and backward, judged by present standards. Store buildings were small, pavements were rough, and life had few modern comforts, but there was ever the spirit and ambition of the Loyalist and Motherland traditions. Few buildings stood north of College Street, and the "Ward" of to-day was a new residential district for middle class people.

"This is the most important day for the Provinces of British North America on which the sun has yet risen," said one newspaper's greeting.

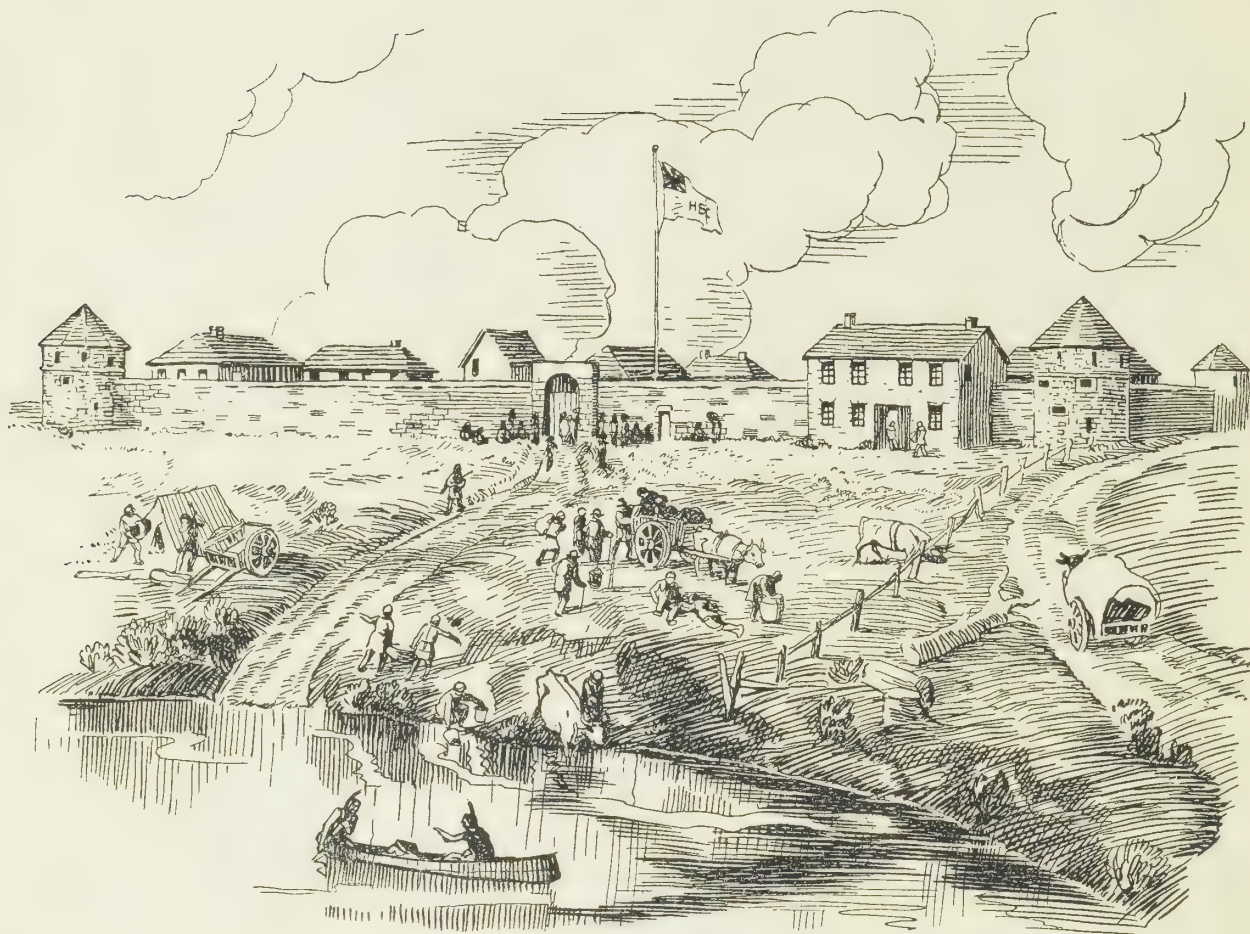
Toronto was again to be a capital, though for one Province only, Canada would hereafter comprise four Provinces instead of two, and soon would extend from ocean to ocean. It would have two winter ports for commerce instead of none, and abundant coal and iron would be accessible by the Atlantic.

And how was the day celebrated? Thousands flocked to the parade ground near College and Bathurst, where all the military were reviewed by the new Lieutenant-Governor, General Stisted. A grand fireworks display was given in Queen's Park in the evening, while thousands were drawn to the Horticultural Gardens where there was dancing on the grass to the music of a military band. Others sought change of scene by lake and rail, just as their descendants have done ever since. Tiny gas jets formed into letters and other designs provided illuminations on various public buildings.

Though an election was pending, it was a day of hope and great expectations. The spirit of advancement took possession of the people as they dreamed of the future.

As years passed, old Ontario was occupied more intensively, the West was acquired and developed, and the new North revealed some of its great riches. Industry and education centred increasingly in Toronto until its boundaries were repeatedly extended and its population increased more than ten-fold in sixty years.

No. 18. Buying an Inland Empire



FORT GARRY (WINNIPEG)
IN FUR-TRADING DAYS

A HANDFUL of men sitting around a table in London in 1869 added two million square miles to the Dominion of Canada at a trifling cost, and founded an inland empire now occupied by two million people. The Hudson's Bay Company surrendered its vast domain and its trading monopoly in the North and West in return for £300,000 and one-twentieth of the fertile land. It was a good bargain for both sides.

Charles II had lightly handed the Hudson's Bay Company charter in 1670 to his cousin, Prince Rupert, and other favorites who had helped him get his throne.

Under the impetus of profit-seeking, and the favor of the English Court, the "Company of Adventurers Trading Into Hudson Bay" pursued its feudal enterprise for two centuries. Its stout-hearted explorers threaded the wilderness and mapped the West. Its firm-lipped factors traded supplies and trinkets for countless skins, which were sold to the fashionables of Europe. Its dominating Governors extended the Company's sway from Labrador to the Pacific, and far down the West Coast. It earned the respect of savages and by its stern, just rule, it compelled the forbearance of incoming settlers.

But the monopoly could not endure. News had spread that the West was a fertile empire whose lands merely awaited the husbandman. Land-seekers were crowding from the east and the south. Unless strong hands took hold, the territory might fall to the United States. The British government became anxious and sounded Canada as to taking possession. Canadian leaders pressed for a decision on terms not too oppressive, for a railway had to be built.

Confederation prepared the way, and in April, 1869, Sir George Cartier and William McDougall reached an agreement with the Company and the Imperial Government.

The monopoly was broken, old Fort Garry and its fur brigades passed away, and the farmer and his plow came into their own.

No. 19. The New Canadians.



IMMIGRANTS FOR CANADIAN
WEST ARRIVING AT HALIFAX

DOWN through the centuries since the days of Champlain, older lands have sent their thousands for the peopling of Canada. French brides by shipload followed the early colonists to Quebec. Loyalists left home and fortune in New England to live again under the flag they loved. English, Scotch and Irish fled the war-weary Old World a century ago and filled the rich lands of Ontario at the rate of fifty thousand a year.

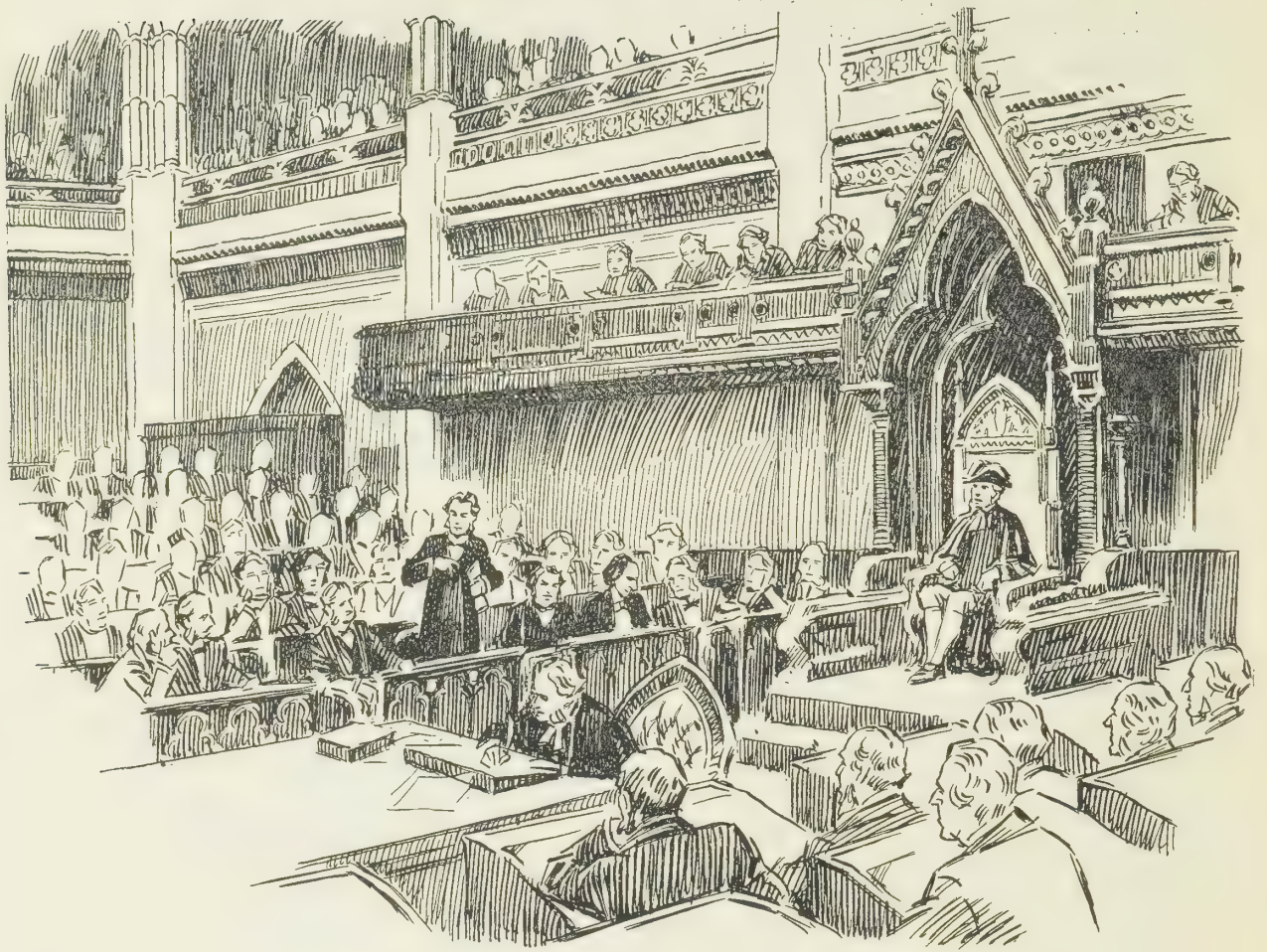
For a quarter century the tide has been renewed, often at tremendous momentum. During 1913, 400,000 arrived and swiftly redeemed the vacant western empire purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. In one banner year, Saskatchewan provided for new young Canadians at the rate of one new school a day. We may rejoice at the realization of Arthur Stringer's description:

"Still the horizon lures, the morrow calls,
Still hearts adventurous seek outward trails,
Still life holds up its tattered hope!"

Great ships now plow the St. Lawrence, carrying the citizens of tomorrow. Again they leave a weary Old World, but hope fills their breast, and they are confident, if timid. They step on a new land, perhaps hear strange tongues, but they will follow the adventurous trails of our grandfathers, will follow them farther from the sea, but how much more easily in days of railways and motor cars!

And what is the sequel? A Canada three times the population of the Canada of sixty years ago, a land already rich in production and confident of much greater things, a country with a wheat crop of 409,000,000 bushels instead of the 16,000,000 when the first Dominion census was taken in 1871, a country whose new people have given it front rank among the trading nations of the world.

No. 20. The National Policy.



SCENE IN PARLIAMENT WHEN
TILLEY INTRODUCED NAT-
IONAL POLICY BUDGET

IT fell to the lot of the once barefoot messenger boy in a St. John drug store to introduce the National Policy, which has exercised a considerable influence in shaping the Dominion's development. This was Sir Leonard Tilley, who had led New Brunswick through perilous months of a Confederation struggle, and who had become a National figure through association with Sir John A. Macdonald.

Macdonald and Tupper were in the cool shades of Opposition in the middle 'seventies when, under political and economic impulses, they adopted the policy of a higher tariff. In the Summers of 1876 and 1877 they preached their doctrine to depressed voters at many political picnics, to voters bowed down by hard times. The country took them at their word, and they swept back into office with a great majority in the Fall of 1878.

It was an expectant House which heard the three hours' speech by Tilley on March 14, 1879. He was a kindly, clean-cut, honest figure, with hardly an enemy in the world, respected for his personality where his policy might be opposed. He frankly admitted having consulted the manufacturers, and proposed a tariff increase from the prevalent $17\frac{1}{2}$ to 20, and in some cases, 40 per cent.

"The time has arrived, I think," he said, "when it becomes our duty to decide whether the thousands of men throughout the length and breadth of this country who are unemployed shall seek employment in another country or shall find it in this Dominion; the time has arrived when we are to decide whether we shall be simply hewers of wood and drawers of water."

The Liberals of that day denounced the principle as entailing a further tax burden, and in office they modified it by a preference for British imports. The propriety or truth of the "hewers of wood" description is still debated, but Canadian manufacturers have increased their production from \$221,000,000 in 1871 to \$2,948,000,000 in 1925, and the investment of United States capital in Canada, much of it in industry, has risen to the great sum of more than three billion dollars.

No. 21. The Red Man Makes Way.



SIGNING THE BLACKFOOT TREATY, 1877

*Interpreter Tells Chiefs the Message of
Governor Laird*

WHEN the "fire wagon," as the Indians called the locomotive, became a certainty for the prairie, it was time to decide who was finally to occupy that land of promise. From unrecorded time it had been the home of Indians and buffaloes. By the middle 'seventies the buffaloes were almost gone, and without them the Indians would starve unless new sources of food were found.

The Great Mother, as the Indians called Queen Victoria now stepped in, or rather, her far-seeing officials at Ottawa anticipated her views, and guessed that the Indians were ready to give up their lands—for a proper consideration. They organized the Northwest Mounted Police, whose red coats have ever since stood for law and order, justice and fair dealing, a force revered at home and admired far beyond the Dominion.

The "Mounties" escorted a dignified body of treaty makers from point to point, impressing the red men and by payments of money securing surrender of block after block of prairie lands. Governor David Laird told the Blackfoot chiefs enticingly that the Great Mother would "pay you and your children money every year, which you can spend as you please."

The deal with the proud, upstanding Blackfeet, who derived their name from the mud of the rich lands which clung to their moccasins, was made at Blackfoot Crossing, by the Bow River east of Calgary, in October, 1877. Four thousand Indians gathered for the ceremonial and to receive the first payment in return for 50,000 square miles of land.

Crowfoot, the mighty Chief, eagle-eyed and with a face like an ancient Roman, heard the terms, and then spoke with deliberation. "If the Police had not come to the country, where would we be all now?" he asked. "Bad men and whiskey were killing us so fast that very few indeed of us would have been left today. The Police have protected us as the feathers of a bird protect it from the frosts of winter. I am satisfied, I will sign the treaty."

Field guns roared out as the red men abandoned their immemorial rights to the advancing whites.

No. 22. A Baptism of Blood.



After the Lithograph by W. D. Blachly.

VOLUNTEERS CROSSING THE "GAPS"

*Penetrating the Lake Superior Woods en route
to crush Rebellion, 1885*

BEFORE the winter of 1885 had relaxed its iron grip, three thousand soldiers were tramping through Northern woods toward the scene of the Dominion's baptism of blood. There was rebellion on the Saskatchewan, and the Eastern Provinces summoned their young defenders from store and foundry, from office and home of luxury.

Once more the half-breeds had rebelled as the last hope of righting a wrong. Their brothers by the Red River had only secured their land grants in 1870 by a rising, and now Louis Riel had returned from exile to lead the men on the Saskatchewan, whose petitions had been unheeded.

Right or wrong the half-breed's case might be: there was no question of the duty to defend. A clash with the Police at Duck Lake on March 26 applied the needed torch to Eastern patriotism. Cities and towns were instantly ablaze and drill-sheds resounded with the tramp of martial forces. Toronto's fighters were selected and accoutred, their farewells said and their train boarded, by March 30. Their commander was the soldier now affectionately known as the veteran, General Sir William Otter.

Cementing the Dominion from ocean to ocean, the Canadian Pacific Railway had been rapidly built, but cruel gaps of 72 miles along the north shore of Lake Superior were yet uncompleted. The soldiers arrived to find that sturdy old tyrant, the North Wind, in control as usual around White River. The mercury was far below zero and a snow storm raging. Into the solemn darkness of the pines and hemlocks the column slowly moved.

The men's spirit and devotion surmounted all obstacles, now through the forest, now riding in open freighting sleighs, now marching over shore ice, and again through deep slush as the weather moderated.

At last they had passed Winnipeg and were at Qu'Appelle, ready for the march over the prairie. The wily rebels resisted attacks until a four-day battle at Batoche brought victory. Riel was captured and ultimately hanged, and the grievances which caused the rebellion were redressed.

No. 23. Driving the Last Spike.



DRIVING THE LAST SPIKE
*Sir Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona) Completes
Canadian Pacific Railway, 1885*

“GO, sell your boots, and buy C.P.R. stock,” said Cornelius Van Horne to an impatient creditor during the darkest days of the Canadian Pacific. The syndicate had undertaken the impossible, to fling a railway across a wild, unpeopled continent. Undreamed-of obstacles rose, costs mounted, rocks took more and more money to move, timid men faltered as they saw millions vanish with little hope of ever reaping a profit.

The Spring of 1885 saw the railway nearly finished, and an impressive demonstration of its value was the quick transport of troops to crush the Rebellion. Now, if ever, surely the Government would advance money to see it through. George Stephen camped at Ottawa, Van Horne at Montreal stretched the last few dollars in the till as if they were elastic. But still Sir John A. Macdonald refused further aid.

“Pay car can’t be sent out, and unless we get relief we must stop,” wired Van Horne to Stephen.

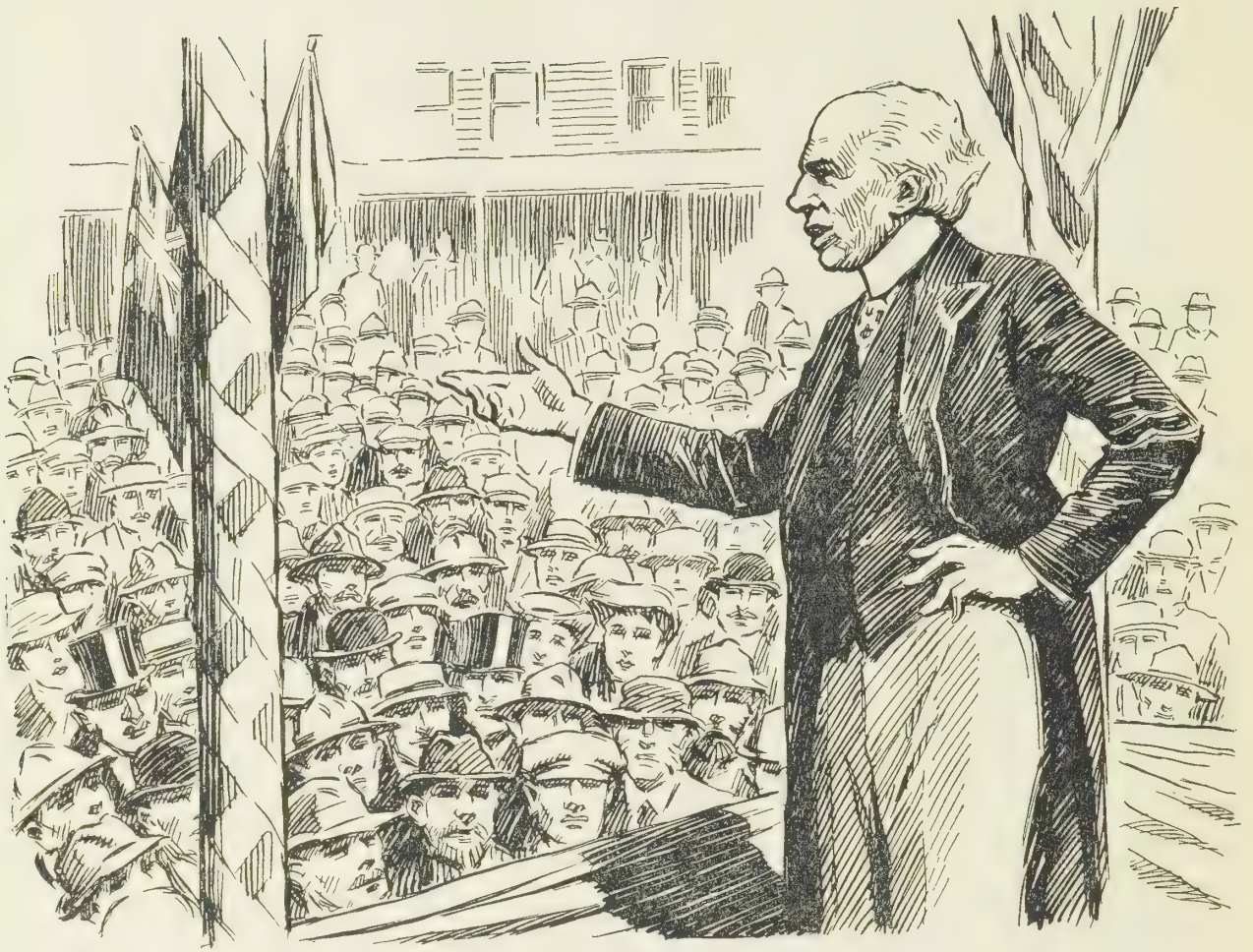
Sir Frank Smith of Toronto and others pressed the Premier to save the day, and at last came a new deal, with a temporary loan, with a bond issue and the work went on. When a London cable announced that the bonds had been quickly sold, Van Horne and Angus vented their relief by “capering about like boys and by kicking the furniture,” according to official account.

Mile by mile the contractors closed the gaps of the steel highway, crossing the continent first traversed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1793. On Nov. 7, 1885, the last spike was driven at a spot in Eagle Pass between Sicamous and the slopes of the Gold Range. Donald Smith, afterwards Lord Strathcona, drove the spike home in the presence of elated officials, contractors and others. Work for which ten years had been allowed by the Government had been finished in less than five years.

Montreal and Vancouver were thus united by bands of steel 2,905 miles long, an Imperial highway was completed, an outlet for the mounting prairie harvest was opened toward two oceans, an inlet for teas and silks from the Orient was created.

A new chapter in Canadian history had begun.

No. 24. Two New Western Sisters.



SIR WILFRID LAURIER AT EDMONTON

*Addressing Public Meeting at Inauguration
of Alberta as Province, 1905*

A Red River cart, drawn by a single ox, creaked through the main street of Edmonton on Sept. 1, 1905, the object of mild derision from a younger generation unfamiliar with the pioneer's chariot. In doorways and on obscure corners, sons and daughters of the red man's race gazed in astonishment at the accompanying procession. It was the last stage in the maturing of the new land of Alberta, which that day became a Province.

Two or three Indians brought their travois to town. Squaws carried papooses on their backs, and fled furtively at sight of a camera. The old order was going rapidly. Little one-story buildings lingered on Jasper Avenue, but their days were numbered. Fort Edmonton, by the high bank of the Saskatchewan, a fur mart for many decades, was soon to give place to a tall, imposing, even ambitious Parliament Building.

The railway from Calgary was shortly to cross by a high level bridge and by its whistle break the age-long silence of the wilderness that stretched toward the Arctic. Wandering caribou herds would surrender their rich pasture lands to an invading army of white men who would send millions of bushels of grain to lands which thought of Alberta only in terms of furs.

Lord Grey, the Governor-General, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister, had come from Ottawa for this day of evolution, this milestone in western history. The pioneers and their children donned their best and crowded to hear the visitors. They would have inspired any orator.

"As I look upon this sea of upturned faces," said Sir Wilfrid Laurier, "I see everywhere hope, I see calm resolution, courage, enthusiasm to face all difficulties. If it be true everywhere, it must be more true here in this new Province, in this bracing atmosphere of the prairie, that 'Hope springs eternal in the human breast.'"

Three days later Saskatchewan was born in a similar ceremony at Regina, and the "last best West" had taken its full place in the Canadian sisterhood.

No. 25. The Crucible of War.



OFF TO THE GREAT WAR

Toronto Soldiers Marching down
University Avenue

WERE there ever such days as those of August 1914? Was ever such fever, such forboding, such patriotic outburst seen on earth?

Out of the blue sky of a peaceful summer, Jove loosed his thunderbolts upon the world. The crash of arms was heard through the Seven Seas.

It had been said that Canada was drifting toward national stature and independence, that the old affection was weakening as the colonial relation disappeared.

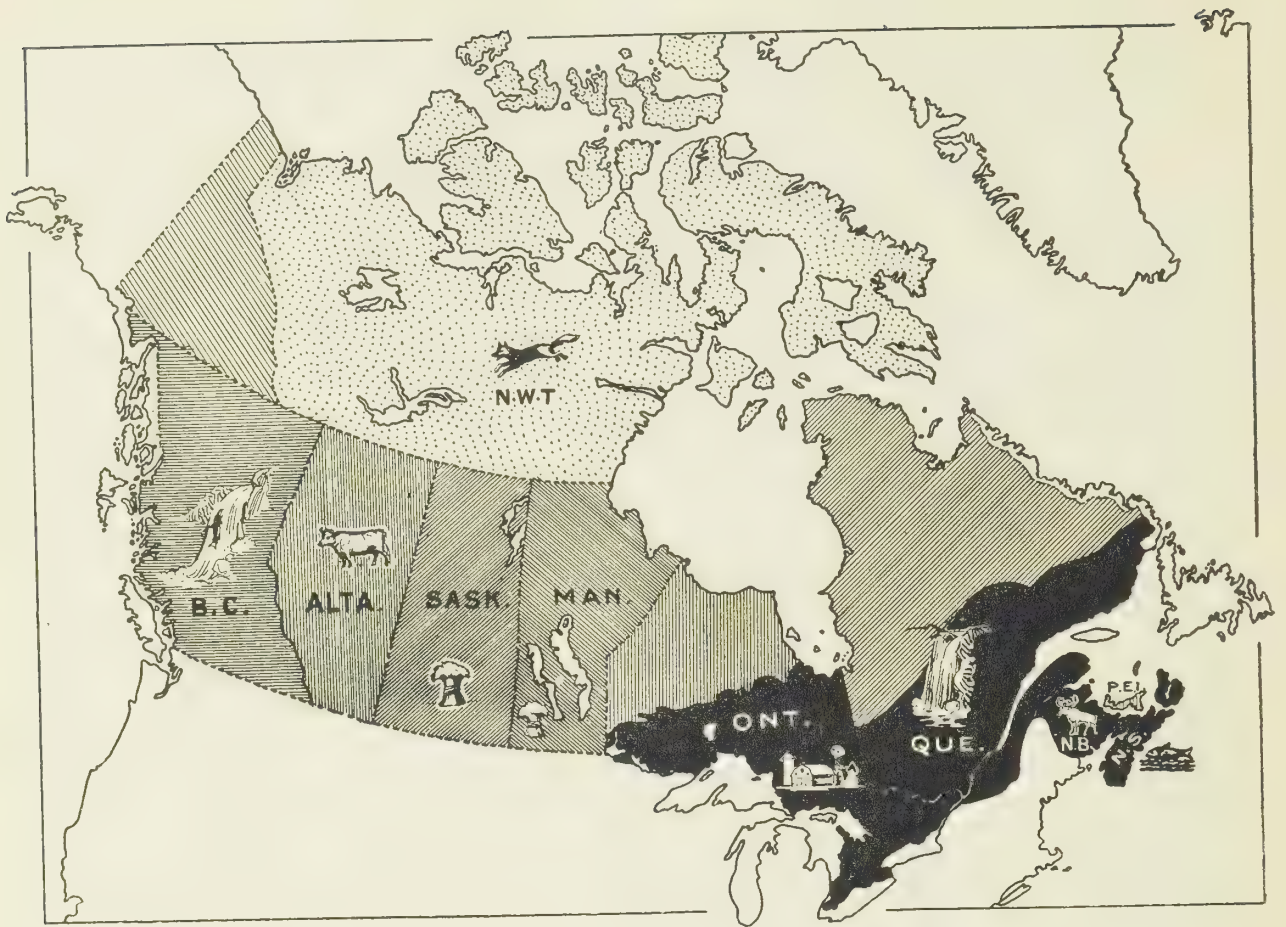
Events of August, 1914, gave the answer. The silken bonds of Empire were stronger than the steel cables of colonial dictation. In "the midnight of the nations" Canada stood beside the Old Grey Mother. The plow was left in the field, the lathe was deserted in the factory, the customer was left unserved, and the summer hotels were emptied of vacationing men as the bugles blew.

In two months over 31,000 men were recruited, drilled, equipped and sent overseas. Another and another contingent enrolled and marched away amid the cheers and the tears of loved ones. Dainty women enlisted as war nurses, as munition makers or as toilers in the fields. Two billion dollars were raised by loan for war purposes, one hundred millions were donated for patriotic funds; 619,000 men were raised for the Canadian Expeditionary Force, of whom 215,000 were killed or wounded. The old lion spirit was shown in the winning of 64 Victoria Crosses by Canadians.

The young Dominion rose to her supreme emergency. Her loyalty was proved, her manhood tested by continuous sacrifice. In the years that follow, sorrow and pride are mingled as the maturing Dominion looks back on her heroes, and we may recall the glorious lines of Laurence Binyon:

"They went with songs to the battle, they were young,
Straight of limb, true of eye, steady and aglow.
They were staunch to the end against foes uncounted:
They fell with their faces to the foe."

No. 26. Ocean to Ocean.



HOW DOMINION HAS EXPANDED

*Black Portions Comprised Original Four
Provinces of 1867*

HOPE lights up the distant hills, and men's hearts burn within them; doubt has vanished, confidence holds the helm and the future gleams strong and bright in the distance. I have lived this life and felt its thrill and seen the splendid transformation."

Thus Sir George E. Foster once flashed the story of Canada to an English audience. This great transformation from a scattered group of Provinces to a nation of power and standing has been accomplished under the very eyes of many men still living. And accomplished, too, in peace and fair dealing, without jealousy or enmity towards other peoples.

Canada's area is ten times larger than at Confederation, its rich acres have been opened to those of stout heart and willing hands, its products created with skill and sold round the world in competition with the best that older nations could produce.

It has led the way in re-creating the Empire, its government has been the pattern for Australia and South Africa, and now the Motherland has joined in a declaration that the United Kingdom and the other self-governing parts of the Empire are "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another."

Canada's trade volume is now fifth among the nations of the world, and in per capita trade it is second. Its national wealth has risen since Confederation from one and a half billion dollars to twenty-two billions. Its coal reserves are one-sixth of the coal of the world. Its installed water power is second only to that of the United States, and less than 11 per cent. has yet been harnessed. Only 40 per cent. of its available farm land is occupied, and farm production may be expanded indefinitely by denser population and more intense cultivation. Nowhere else in the world, have an equal number of people such enormous undeveloped resources at their disposal.

Of course there are problems. Party is too often esteemed before country. Waste and inefficiency sometimes creep into public and private management. The sectional view at times obscures the national outlook.

But material progress is unmistakable, the creative arts gain in strength, recognition and appreciation, and we are realizing the prospect held out by George Brown in 1865, of a new nation that "will strive to develop its natural resources, and that will endeavor to maintain liberty, and justice, and Christianity throughout the land."

No. 27. After Sixty Years.



NINE PROVINCES UNITED
IN PROGRESS AND
PROSPERITY

AS in homage to a Queen on her throne, her sons and daughters are gathering in spirit at the feet of Miss Canada. After sixty pulsating, fruitful years, Our Lady of the Confederation takes her place on the front street of the world.

Prospered by the arts of peace, and sobered by the fires of war, the Dominion recovers her poise and forges ahead, rich in resources, confident in the strength and nobility of her men and women.

Canadians by the Atlantic will forget past disappointments and remember their own bountiful gifts to the making of the Dominion, whose prosperity they will increasingly share.

French Canadians, whose thrift and progress are increasingly appreciated, will hold their place as the rock of conservatism and steadiness against which the waves of radicalism may beat in vain.

Ontario, which never doubted the wisdom of Confederation, will maintain her course toward progress and happiness, proud in growing nationhood that means partnership in the British Commonwealth.

Upon the prairies the new Canadian is molded into material form with cultural impulses, his background of European discontent forgotten in a new manhood of hope and loyalty.

Pioneers of the mountain Province have triumphed over nature and will direct all Canada to the new dawn of trade beyond the Pacific.

Sons and daughters of Canada, partners in a great empire, owners of a continent, victors in the battle to establish a nation, may they be worthy of the honor, the sacrifices and the vision of the Fathers of Confederation!



M. O. HAMMOND

Author of "Confederation and Its Leaders" and "Canadian Footprints" who wrote the historical sketches contained in the preceding pages.



A. WYNNE-CLARK
C.S.G.A.

The Artist who made the Drawings for The Robert Simpson Company, Limited, "Confederation Jubilee Series."

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